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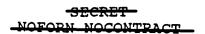
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SUBJECT:	Iraqi Responses to UN Resolutions		
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

26 July 1992

NOTE FOR: Deputies Committee Iraq Working Group

As promised by the DCI, attached is the final classified version of the paper that pulls together the "bill of particulars" demonstrating Iraq's failure to comply with a broad range of UNSC resolutions. The paper was fully coordinated with DIA and NSA; INR has coordinated in substance but not for release.

CIA will work to declassify as much of the paper as possible. CIA will defer to NSC and State on any public release of the declassified paper.

Chief, Iraq Task Force 47923 secure 202-760-9067 (STU)

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Iraqi Responses to UN Resolutions

Saddam Husayn has no intention of fully complying with UN demands for the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and has become increasingly uncooperative on non-weapons related issues. Baghdad is conducting a comprehensive campaign of denial, deception, obstruction, and harassment to inhibit UN efforts. The following chart details some examples of Iraq's noncompliance. We believe that additional violations are yet to be uncovered.

What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Paras. 2 - 3 require Baghdad to respect the inviolability of its border with Kuwait and to work with Kuwait and the United Nations to demarcate the boundary on the basis of the 1963 border agreement.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad agreed to demarcate the border according to the terms of the resolution.

What Iraq Has Done

The Iraqi News Agency on 26 July 1992 quoted a book, <u>Border Demarcation</u>
<u>Between International Pressure and the Iraqi Right</u>, published by Basra University, which asserts "Kuwait is part of Iraq and a natural geographical extension to Iraqi territory."

Iraq boycotted the border demarcation committee meetings scheduled for 15 to 24 July 1992, calling the talks unjust and biased.

Barzan al-Tikriti, Saddam's half-brother and Iraqi Ambassador to the UN in Geneva, in a 5 July 1992 article in the Iraqi daily newspaper Al-Jumhuriya, wrote that "Iraq has been convinced, ever since its independence, that Kuwait is part of it," and that to "return it to the mother homeland" is the cause "of an entire nation."

On 1 June 1992 Iraqi Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn rejected the demarcation committee's proposed border adjustments, which give Kuwait part of Umm Qasr and approximately 10 Iraqi oil wells. He claims the UN's decision was "only depriving Iraq from its geographical and historical rights." After laying out the grounds for Iraq's claims to all of Kuwait, he cited previous Iraqi governments assertions that "Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq" and added that "none of the successive Iraqi governments have ever acquiesced in slicing off any piece of Iraqi territory." In addition, he said the demarcation decision "contains the seeds of another war" and identifying these claims with Iraq's own position.

Iraq's Oil Minister, Usamah al-Hiti, announced at a news conference on 1 June 1992, that the land in the southern al-Rumaylah oilfield "will remain Iraqi territory despite all unjust resolutions. It is impossible to relinquish it."

Iraqi state radio broadcast on 14 July 1992 that Iraq had informed the United Nations that it decided to boycott meetings of the Iraq-Kuwait border demarcation committee.

Warning Notice: Intelligence
Sources of Methods Involved

Baghdad made a concerted effort in the months following implementation of the Resolution to test UN enforcement of the demilitarized zone:



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Paras. 8-10 require Iraq to declare, destroy, remove, or render harmless under UN supervision, and not to use, develop, construct, or acquire the following:

--All chemical weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support, and manufacturing facilities.

What Iraq Claims

Iraq now admits to some facilities, nearly 150,000 chemical munitions, chemical agents and precursors, binary and other munitions, and precursor production and storage facilities. The production and storage facilities. The production and storage facilities. The production is a production of the production of the production and storage facilities. The production is a production of the pro

What Iraq Has Done

In its initial declaration submitted on 18 April 1991, Baghdad declared about 20,000 chemical munitions. During the past year, the Iraqis have made numerous additions to their initial declaration and now admit to a total of 150,000 CW munitions.

The Iraqis claimed in their original declaration that only one facility in Iraq, Samarra, was used in its CW program.

3



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Paras. 8-10 require Iraq to declare, destroy, remove, or render harmless under UN supervision, and not to use, develop, construct, or acquire the following:

--All biological weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support, and manufacturing facilities.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad has declared nine biological research and production facilities and admitted to basic research for military purposes, but it maintains it has no biological weapons program.

What Iraq Has Done

Baghdad claimed in its initial declaration submitted on 18 April 1991 that it did not possess any biological weapons or related items.

Just before the first biological warfare inspection in August 1991, Iraq admitted that it had done research on "biological warfare agents for military purposes" at Salman Pak.

The Iraqis also admitted in August 1991 that they had researched three biological agents--anthrax, botulinum toxin, and clostridium perfringens--but claimed research had stopped in late 1990.



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Paras. 8-10 require Iraq to declare, destroy, remove, or render harmless under UN supervision, and not to use, develop, construct, or acquire the following:

--All ballistic <u>missiles</u> with a range greater than 150 kilometers and related major parts, and repair and production facilities.

What Iraq Claims

Iraq declared and claims to have destroyed 150 missiles, 23 conventional warheads, 75 chemical warheads, 31 fixed launchers, 18 mobile launchers, and decoy launchers.

What Iraq Has Done

Baghdad originally declared that it had only 52 Scud missiles after the war. In January 1992, Gen. Amir al-Ubaydi, head of Iraq's Organization of Military Industrialization, told UN officials visiting Baghdad, that "there was absolutely no undeclared type of ballistic missile in Iraq." In March 1992, however, Baghdad admitted to another 89 Scud missiles, which it claims to have destroyed on its own in July 1991.

In April 1991, Baghdad declared six mobile launchers--two Soviet produced and four Iraq-made. Later they admitted to four more Soviet-made launchers. In the January 1992 meetings with UN officials, the Iraqis reaffirmed that they had ten mobile launchers during the Gulf war, all of which had been destroyed by the UN, and al-Ubaydi insisted "there were absolutely no mobile or fixed launchers for ballistic missiles in Iraq". In March 1992, however, Baghdad admitted to eight more mobile launchers--four from the USSR and four produced in Iraq.



In January 1991, the Iraqis admitted to lying about the destruction of oxidizer trucks used to fuel Scud missiles. They had destroyed vehicles that were not missile-related and the oxidizer trucks were untouched.



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Para. 11 requires Iraq to reaffirm its obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad claims it is not in violation of the treaty but admitted it clandestinely produced plutonium in a safeguarded facility violating an IAEA agreement.

What Iraq Has Done

The IAEA has found evidence that Iraqi activity before the war resulted in three violations of the treaty:

- o The Iraqis operated a reactor using uranium targets which had not been declared to the IAEA, and subsequently reprocessed the targets to acquire plutonium.
- o The Iraqis produced uranium enrichment feed material (UF6) without declaring it to the IAEA.
- o The Iraqis enriched uranium without declaring it or the uranium enrichment facilities to the IAEA.

What the UN Requires

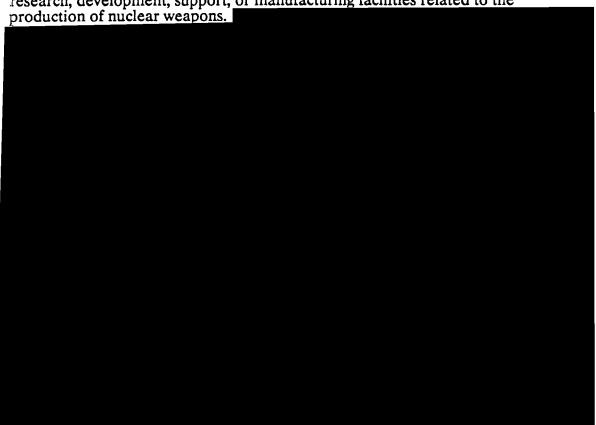
Resolution 687 Paras. 12-13 require Iraq to declare, to accept the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless under international supervision of, and not to use, develop, construct, or acquire nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons-usable material, any subsystems or components, and any related research, development, support or manufacturing facilities.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad admitted to work on centrifuge, EMIS, CHEMEX, ion exchange, and gaseous diffusion uranium enrichment programs; Iraq has declared 1 ton of uranium metal and minor quantities of plutonium and enriched uranium. It admits to research applicable to nuclear weapons but claims the decision to proceed was never made.

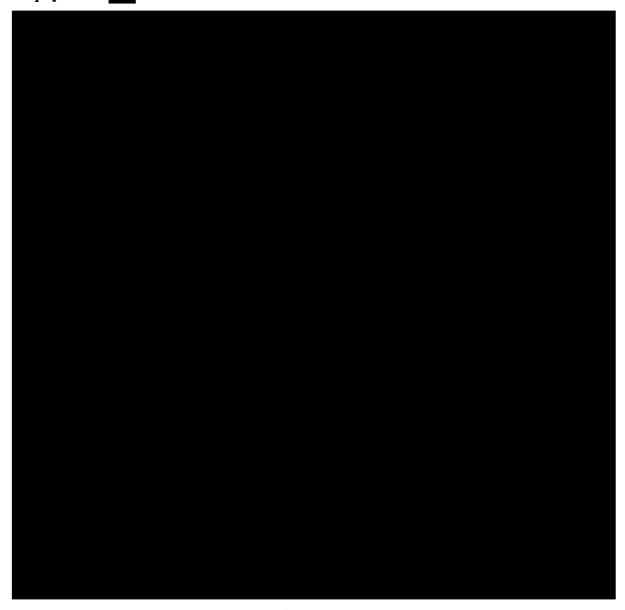
What Iraq Has Done

Iraq claimed in its initial declaration delivered on 18 August 1991 that it had no research, development, support, or manufacturing facilities related to the



Baghdad tried to hide EMIS equipment from inspectors at a military garrison outside of Baghdad in June 1991. The Iraqis would not allow inspectors into the facility until the equipment had been moved. At the next site, the Iraqis again

refused entrance and fired weapons to frighten the inspectors. The UN team managed to film the Iraqis, however, as they were trying to move the equipment. Only when confronted with UN evidence did the Iraqis turn over the prohibited equipment.



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Para. 15 requires Iraq to cooperate with UN effort to list and return all stolen Kuwait property.

What Iraq Claims

Iraq has returned some civilian aircraft and spare parts, art treasures, gold, books and manuscripts, and some military aircraft.

What Iraq Has Done



What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Para. 30 requires Iraq to cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to facilitate the <u>repatriation</u> of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals by providing lists, giving the ICRC access to detainees.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad sporadically released several hundred detainees following the war but denies Kuwaiti claims that large numbers of prisoners of war remain in Iraq. Saddam says the Kuwaiti list is a publicity tool for maintaining sanctions against Iraq.

What Iraq Has Done

Iraq continues to hold approximately 850 detainees, according to the Kuwaiti list.



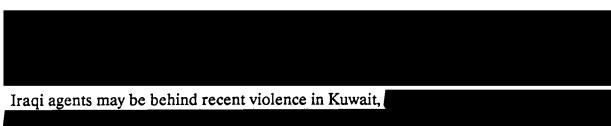
What the UN Requires

Resolution 687 Para. 32 requires Iraq not to commit or support any act of international <u>terrorism</u> or allow terrorists to operate in Iraq.

What Iraq Claims

Iraq told the UN it had satisfied the provision, but will support "self-determination" movements.

What Iraq Has Done



What the UN Requires

Resolution 688 requires Iraq to cease repression of all of its citizens and allow access by international humanitarian organizations.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad never accepted this resolution but, for a time, allowed a limited UN presence in Iraq for humanitarian relief.

What Iraq Has Done

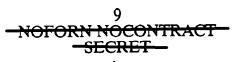
The Iraqis refuse to extend the memorandum allowing UN personnel and relief workers in the country, have restricted UN movements within Iraq, and troops have detained or fired on relief workers.

Baghdad has repeatedly refused to issue visas to relief workers scheduled to enter Iraq to fill empty slots or to replace leaving personnel.

Baghdad has maintained an economic blockade of Iraq's Kurdish provinces since November 1991. The blockade prevents the flow of most food and fuel from central Iraq into the Kurdish enclave, and restricts the travel of Kurds between towns in Iraqi-held areas of Kurdistan.

The Iraqi military continues to attack Kurdish villages in the north using helicopters and artillery.

The Iraqi military is conducting a military campaign against the Shia in the south, using ground forces, helicopters, and fixed-wing aircraft.



Iraqi forces on 12 July 1992 prevented Shias in southern Iraq from publicly observing their holy day of Ashura (day of atonement).

The Iraqi regime has impeded international efforts to establish humanitarian office.

The Iraqi regime has impeded international efforts to establish humanitarian offices and deploy relief personnel throughout the south. Iraq's Ministry of Health and other government agencies have increasingly refused to cooperate with the United Nations and private relief organizations.

What the UN Requires

Resolution 707 requires Iraq to comply fully with Resolution 687 and the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to allow UN and IAEA inspectors complete access, including aircraft for surveillance and support.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad has asked that U2 flights stop, although it continues to acknowledge flight notification.

What Iraq Has Done

From 5 to 22 July 1992, Baghdad refused a UN team access to the Agriculture Ministry, where the Iraqis had stored records on military production, according to UN reporting. During the standoff, the Iraqis claimed that the United Nations had no right to inspect the facility or any other civilian governmental institution. In his 23 July news conference, Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz vowed that "Iraq will not concede, in any way, on its sovereignty and dignity," adding that Iraq's people and leadership are "ready to confront the results" of this stand. Baghdad organized an increasingly menacing series of demonstrations against the inspectors stationed near the Ministry. Iraqi media systematically sought to whip up public hostility by attacking the inspectors as "scoundrels" and claiming they had imposed a "siege," imprisoning 1,000 employees in the ministry building. Even after the inspectors' departure, Saddam's press secretary 'Abd al-Jabbar Muhsin denounced the inspectors as "savages, despicable streetwalkers, criminal murderers, and thieves" and urged Iraqis to treat them "with all humiliation when they come to our country."



What the UN Requires

Resolution 661 Paras 3-4 require that all states prevent the sale, export, or reshipment of goods, other than food and UN-approved humanitarian items, to Iraq, and not make available to Iraq any type of financial or other resources.

What Iraq Claims

Iraq claims sanctions should be lifted because it has complied with UN Resolutions.

What Iraq Has Done

Baghdad has aggressively sought a variety of embargoed goods from suppliers all over the world.

What the UN Requires

Resolutions 706 and 712 permit Iraq to export oil over a six-month period to generate \$1.6 billion in revenue to fund humanitarian imports for Iraq (\$934 million), Iraqi reparations for Gulf warrelated damages (\$480 million), and various UN activities in Iraq (\$186 million).

What Iraq Has Done

Iraq has refused to accept the current terms of the resolutions and has, in the most recent round of negotiations, demanded to export all the oil from its own port rather than via Turkey as the resolution requires. Iraq stipulated that its acceptance of the resolutions' terms was contingent on the United Nations ending economic sanctions when the six month duration of the resolutions expired.

What the UN Requires

Resolution 715 demands that Iraq unconditionally <u>meet all its obligations</u> to cooperate fully with the Special Commission and IAEA and calls for <u>longterm monitoring</u>.

What Iraq Claims

Baghdad has delivered its "final" declaration of its programs for weapons of mass destruction. It professes to agree to long-term monitoring but has never accepted the resolution.

What Iraq Has Done

The "final" declaration delivered 6 June 1992 continues to understate Iraq's past activities and current capabilities to pursue weapons of mass desturction, and does not meet UN requirements.

This is also not the first "final" declaration. On 10 March 1992, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz arrived in New York with what he claimed was "documented evidence on Iraq's fulfillment of its commitments." Aziz provided no evidence during his meetings with the UN that week although he continued to claim that Iraq had complied fully with its obligations. After his failure to gain support in the Security Council, Iraq released its 19 March 1992 declaration exposing more of its missile and chemical weapons programs.